Human Events THE WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER

Vol. XVII, No. 22 June 2, 1960 Section 1 — News

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The GOP One-Two Punch: Nixon and the Republicans have sloughed off their recent "high-level" strategy and have thrown themselves into what pros think is a brilliant piece of hard-hitting political warfare against the Democrats. It well may bring victory in November, they believe. Anyway, resultant noises from the "liberal" Democrats suggest the latter's great anxiety.

When Khrushchev, by dramatic implication, indicated he wanted a Democratic President, Nixon touched off the necessary "theater" with his exposure of two Communist spies in America and then all Republicans began to get into what is obviously a politically rewarding act. This sortie may well muffle and confuse the Democratic maneuver, the Fulbright investigation of the U-2 incident and Summit debacle.

Indeed, the past ten days mark a sharp switch in the Nixon strategy, from the aloofness of recent months to free-swinging forensics. It is understood that the Nixon GHQ has made a definite decision to wage an active campaign from now on, mainly on foreign policy. He will also wade into the domestic field, by his last week's reversal of his former intention to stay out of the hot North Dakota election. He will address an American Legion convention in Williston on June 20. Conservative Republicans have been urging such a course for some time. They have regarded his anti-Khrushchev posture (dating from the "kitchen" argument in Moscow) as his best vote-getting capability.

Concurrently, Nixon's press chief, Herbert Klein, adroitly moved to widen the breach among the Democrats. For years, the GOP has floundered as the Democrats, with no mean success, have done the same to the Republicans, craftily urging—through their kept columnists—that the GOP back "liberal" Republicans; that is, those easy for the Democrats to beat.

Klein, speaking for Nixon, emphasized a big split among Democrats—with the "liberals" seeking to blame Ike for the Summit fiasco, and Senator Lyndon Johnson in a statesmanlike way urging national unity in the face of Khrushchev. This was followed by former Democratic Chairman Jim Farley's blast at Adlai Stevenson and the "liberals" for trying to smear Ike and for endangering national unity. Another Democratic elder, former Senator Wheeler of Montana, attacked Adlai and the proposed Fulbright probe as "playing right into the hands of the Communists."

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One matter is discussed very seriously by pros of both parties in the Capital: The distinct probability that the Republicans and conservative Democrats have made it impossible to nominate Adlai at Los Angeles or even to tolerate consideration of him as Secretary of State under any Democratic President.

At the same time, Lyndon Johnson's chances for Democratic nomination have been enhanced. It is significant that in the Nixon camp they are privately saying that they now fear Johnson as an opponent more than Kennedy. The Texan apparently fills the bill needed by the Democrats in the world crisis better than other candidates. Also, Nixonites probably fear that Johnson would be more likely than any other candidate to pick up many of the numerous discontented conservative voters, who have disliked Nixon's handling of the steel strike, the Connally Reservation and social security "medicare" proposals.

One reason for the more confident attitude of Nixonites *vis-a-vis* Kennedy is the very evident public reaction against the Massachusetts man's candidacy in view of the Summit debacle and the world crisis. Obviously—as often mentioned in the press—people do not want to entrust our foreign policy to so young and inexperienced a man.

As things stand today, Kennedy is emerging—by his words and attitudes—as the leader of the appeasement element, particularly as Adlai fades. Last week, he said that the next President should seek another Summit meeting with Khrushchev. A few days before, he had indicated that he would accept Adlai as Secretary of State if he were elected. Finally, he criticized Ike for not apologizing to Khrushchev for the U-2; he used the words "expressing regret," but in the circumstances of Paris, that could only signify "apology." Observers ask: with such an image, could Kennedy get that anti-Communist Catholic vote on which he counts?

De Gaulle: The figure of the French President rises above the wreckage of the Summit conference and stirs—among many American observers—far more speculation than the continuing squabble about the U-2 and the consequences of its capture. De Gaulle's realistic skepticism about the value of a Summit and his firm handling of Khrushchev elevates him to the leading position among Western statesmen, in the forefront against communism. The realization that he leads Western Europe (particularly West Germany) in this course and that he may exert more sway than formerly on US foreign policy

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is the subject of much discussion on Diplomatic Row in Washington.

In the last conversation De Gaulle had with the Soviet leader in Paris after the Summit debacle, it is reported that he said, in so many words: "I cannot emphasize too much that the Franco-German Alliance is something *permanent*. I may pass on and Chancellor Adenauer may pass on, but the alliance of the French and German nations will go on just as strongly as if we two were in office. This is the central fact in the European situation today."

There is word that this utterance of De Gaulle got to the British, who saw it as dashing their hopes and intrigues to break up the alliance and the Common Market of which West Germany and France are the center. Indeed, London is additionally reported to be disturbed by indications that Britain is "in the doghouse" so far as America is concerned as a result of the Summit debacle. Friends of Eisenhower report that the President came away from Paris very disgruntled with Macmillan. It was the British premier who pushed persistently for a Summit conference, offering it as a bright hope of concord between East and West. And, in the middle of Khrushchev's insulting show, it was Macmillan who almost persuaded Ike to make a humiliating compromise with the Soviet premier.

Don Cook, the well-informed London correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune*, reports, as one probable result of Ike's disillusion with the British, the prospect of the US "increasing its backing of the French, who have long sought greater equality with the British in global planning." Cook reports that the stock "of President De Gaulle has risen," while Macmillan's has fallen.

It is remarked that the Herald Tribune is owned by US Ambassador (to England) Jock Whitney, that Whitney is not only a close friend of Ike, but a reliable weathervane of his opinions, and that Cook's information must have been very "inside."

Military leaders in the Capital think it likely that the US will now collaborate more closely with Paris on the defense front and smooth out some of the differences hitherto existing between the two countries on French autonomous power within the NATO alliance. Similarly, Diplomatic Row anticipates that Washington may henceforth turn away from the British and toward the French for leads in shaping European policies.

Capitol Camera: Ike's TV apologia last week for his U-2 policy scored by reminding the folks of what happened at Pearl Harbor. It may "block that kick," meaning the Fulbright probe to smear the Administration. However, Ike ran counter to the undoubted public sentiment for "no negotiations" with the Russians and for continuance of U-2 flights. His soft attitude may slow down Nixon's new aggressive campaign policy.

• The Southern revolt against labor boss power grows. Recently, five Congressmen—Dowdy, Rogers and Teague in Texas, Boykin and Grant in Alabama—won re-nomination (which in those states is tantamount to re-election)—all against strong labor union opposition.

• Another significant Southern development was the victory last week of Farris Bryant in the Florida Democratic primary race for governor. Bryant is a States Rights Democrat who was backed by former Governor Millard Caldwell, a strong segregationist; he won convincingly despite the opposition of the "moderate" outgoing Governor, Leroy Collins, and most of the state's major newspapers.

• Harvard University Young Republicans sent old umbrellas to Adlai Stevenson for use as "Khrushchev Fallout Protection"; also to Eleanor Roosevelt as a reminder that the US isn't for appeasement.

• Congressman August Johansen remembered something when he read Khrushchev's statement that he could deal with FDR. A few days earlier, House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in San Francisco, which Johansen attended, were picketed by left-wingers and dupes who quoted speeches of Congressman Jimmy Roosevelt and his mother, Eleanor, bitterly attacking the Committee.

• American Legion Commander Martin McKneally cancelled a planned trip to the USSR, with the remark: "Where the President of the United States is not welcome, no American citizen should go."

• Khrushchev's pose of "purity" at the Summit, when he denied that the Reds ever spied, can be refuted by his own words to nine American governors who visited Russia last summer. One of them, Stephen McNichols of Colorado, reports Khrushchev's boast that the USSR knows what goes on in our State Department through "our intelligence reports" and "people who obtain these things." The Red boss said he could show copies of State Department documents to the US governors.

• David McDonald, head of the United Steelworkers Union, faces formidable opposition in the upcoming USW presidential election. The opposition comes from Donald Rarick, who piled up a big vote in 1957 against McDonald in the last election.

• *Robert Morris, defeated for the GOP Senate nomination in New Jersey, has accepted the post of President of the University of Dallas, a new school which held its first graduation last weekend.*

Rockefeller: When Nelson last week announced his availability for a "draft" for President at the GOP convention, he was obviously striving desperately to salvage what was left of him as a national party figure. So runs Capital comment. The curious suggestion of a "draft" and other details of the Albany meeting merely represented Rocky's attempt to keep some national status, in face of a recently growing demand by New York politicos that the Empire State GOP should jump on the Nixon bandwagon; such a switch would have been the crowning humiliation for Rockefeller. Meanwhile, it's hard to find any politico in the Capital who thinks a suc-

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cessful Rocky "draft" at the convention is in the realm of possibility.

North Dakota: The battle between Republican Governor John E. Davis and Democratic Representative Quentin Burdick for the late Senator Langer's unexpired term in a special June 28 election is looked on in Washington as a close affair. The outcome could have a major psychological effect on Republican farm state fortunes in November.

Current reports have it that, although Davis has rejected the Benson farm policies, he runs behind Burdick in farming areas and must count on strong support in the larger towns. Should Davis be defeated, observers note, not only will the GOP lose a Senate seat but the "liberals" will gain one of their own in the upper house.

The Fargo Forum reported of Burdick's campaigning: "Representative Burdick placed himself in the far left wing of the Democratic party by endorsing the programs of the Americans for Democratic Action." Burdick scored 100 per cent pro-ADA in its 1959 ratings.

Byrd Victory: Senator Harry F. Byrd's conservative Democratic organization in Virginia steamrollered all opposition in its state convention held May 21 at Virginia Beach. Governor Almond, who has opposed Byrd on major policies in the past two years, had to bow to the still-powerful prestige of the Senator who has shaped Virginia's politics in the past three decades. He had to "eat crow" before an assembly of 2500, was forced (as Chairman of the Resolutions Committee) to report out to the convention two key resolutions on which he was outvoted 22 to 8 in the Committee. They were:

(1) That the Virginia Delegation to the Democratic National Convention in July will be pledged to Senator Lyndon Johnson. This Almond opposed, advocating sending an uninstructed delegation.

(2) A resolution to adjourn the state convention subject to its being reconvened by the State Democratic Committee (in the hands of Byrd followers).

Observers believe that (1) means that while Virginia Democrats have no enthusiasm for Johnson, they dislike him less than the other party hopefuls; and that when Johnson will be turned down at Los Angeles, and any of the other candidates (Kennedy, Symington or Stevenson) is nominated, then Virginia will walk out.

Resolution (2) means that then the Virginia Democrats can reconvene and nominate a slate of Presidential electors pledged to Senator Byrd for President and Senator Russell for Vice President. Six other Southern states have somewhat similar machinery for "bolting" in the works.

Spending: The Ides of June are at hand and a perennial fund-wasting spree is under way. Government agencies are now placing orders with office equipment and supply manufacturers, with instructions to make delivery before June 30, the end of the Government's fiscal year.

When June 30 comes around, all Government bureaus want all of their appropriations fully spent. Each wants to tell the Appropriations Committees that the agency needs for next year every cent of its last year's funds and in fact, desperately needs more money than it got last year.

If there is an "unexpended balance" it must go back to the Treasury Department. That is a fate more to be feared than death itself, among Government agencies. Hence, as June comes around, lots of "travel orders" are issued for "inspection trips" to spend the left-overs.

If the agency can't spend enough money on travel, it buys all the typewriters, adding machines and other office equipment that it can. Some agencies have warehouses full of new typewriters, still in the shipping boxes, that have been stored away for many years. They may not even know that there are any typewriters in stock, or, if they do, where they are. But they still order more typewriters.

However, typewriters are now coming into disrepute as a means of getting rid of agency funds. It has got around that the Government warehouses are filled with new typewriters, so the agency chief who has imagination tries to think of other items to order besides typewriters.

What can be done about it? Elect Congressmen shown by the ACA-Index to have proven their devotion to economy in Government.

Health Insurance: The Forand bill and similar plans for Federal aid to the aged for medical care are shown up as "vote grabs" which are not really needed in a new study of *Voluntary Health Insurance in the United States,* published by the American Enterprise Association (1012 14th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.) at a price of $1. The report demonstrates that private health insurance is well on the way to near-universal coverage of everyone in the US.

The authors, Dr. W. Glenn Campbell of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University and his wife, report that "it seems clear that a substantial majority of today's aged can afford to pay for health insurance and that in the future the percentage will be even higher."

At the end of last year, the Campbells point out, 127 million people (72 per cent of the population) had some form of private health insurance—over four times as many as were covered at the end of World War II. Moreover, the US now spends a greater share of its resources, voluntarily, on health than does Great Britain, the "shining example" so often cited by proponents of free medical care.

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They're Gunning For The GOP's Lone Texan

By GEORGE FOWLER

When it's roundup time in the US House of Representatives Speaker Sam Rayburn easily corrals the votes of his 20 fellow Texas Democrats. But the remaining member of the Lone Star State delegation is 42-year-old Dallas Republican Bruce Alger, who practices a brand of conservative individualism that has "Mister Sam" and boondoggling "liberals" fretfully hoping for and planning his political demise.

To know Alger is to know his district of Dallas—and vice-versa. Dallas shuns the Federal school milk program, accepts no Federal funds for public welfare recipients, and has resisted outside help on such matters as urban renewal and airport construction.

The staid and "liberal" New York *Times* on July 4, 1959 stepped out of character to report enthusiastically of Dallas' booming urban expansion program: "The city is confident it can get the job done without the liberal aid for urban redevelopment and renewal that would have been possible under Federal programs. It is banking on its people and the 'Dallas spirit' to get success."

In 1958 *Alger flew down to Dallas and opposed an urban renewal project the city fathers were about to vote on. Alger contended that the Government had no right to become an instrument in the transfer of private property from one individual to another, that only in the case of Government property should the Federal powers interfere. Alger's argument carried the day and observers agree that booming Dallas is none the worse for having rejected the big handout.*

Needless to say, this display of undiluted self-sufficiency on the part of Dallas and its Congressman is disquieting to the blank-check "liberals" of the Democratic party. Not the least unhappy over Alger's anti-boondoggling is "Mister Sam" himself, whose district, one of the smallest in the Nation, borders Alger's Dallas County, with its 950,000 population.

At a luncheon of the Texas congressional delegation in Washington in 1957, Rayburn flatly stated that he thought all present were doing a fine job in the House—except Bruce Alger. At a 1955 luncheon of the Texas Congressmen, Democratic National Chairman Paul Butler turned to Alger and said: "We intend to see that you do not return to Washington."

On the surface, it would seem that the wishes of Rayburn and Butler have little chance of coming true. First elected in 1954 by 3,000 votes, Alger won a third term by 7,000 in the Democratic landslide of 1958.

But although the Dallas conservative tradition is deep, the potential anti-Alger vote is of king-size proportions. Alger is the only Congressman in the four Southwestern states who received an absolute zero rating from COPE (Walter Reuther's Committee on Political Education) on key legislative issues. Every year since coming to Washington, Alger has batted zero on the ADA's congressional scoresheet.

Such a performance has strengthened the determination of labor bosses and "liberals" to knock off the young conservative. Reuther's United Auto Workers has some 30,000 members employed in Ford, General Motors, Bell Aircraft, and other Dallas County plants. COPE "educators" are active, telling workers about the political sins of Bruce Alger, and that they must replace him this year.

But counted on most to beat Alger is a bit of current parliamentary hanky-panky which has the obvious approval of Sam Rayburn and which is designed to embarrass Alger at home.

Ironically, do-it-yourself Dallas is a regional center for Federal services, with thousands of Federal employees working in offices scattered throughout the city. In 1955 (Alger's first year in Washington) Congress approved a project recommended by the General Services Administration for a new Federal Building in Dallas which would eventually save on rents.

On May 17 of this year, the Dallas building became the *ONLY* one of 140 GSA-recommended projects refused final approval by the Democratic-controlled House Subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds. The reason given was that early this year Chairman Robert E. Jones (D.-Ala.) had received a letter from Representative Jack Brooks (D.-Texas) stating that a citizen had raised an alleged irregularity regarding the GSA's acquisition of the building land. Brooks said he wanted his Subcommittee on Government Operations to look into the complaint. Brooks held one informal meeting and has "sat" on the matter for the last few months. As the congressional clock ticks toward June adjournment, Texan Brooks is aware that if the Dallas building project is not allowed to go before the Public Works Committee for final approval, no money can be appropriated.

Those on Capitol Hill familiar with the situation look beyond Jones and Brooks to the man they feel sure is calling the shots—Sam Rayburn. "Mister Sam" means to show Dallas that to elect Alger is to incur his displeasure, and that Dallas must pay accordingly.

Whether this "political blackmail" will prove successful and combine with growing UAW strength to unseat Alger in November is anybody's guess.

But an indication that what Bruce Alger calls Rayburn's "brass knuckles political dictation" doesn't fool Dallas came in a recent editorial in the Dallas *Morning News*: "If the refusal of a Democratic subcommittee, meeting without a quorum present, to back this project is an attempt to punish Dallas for having elected Republican Bruce Alger to Congress, Dallas will resent that for what it is . . . . The partisan Democrats on the subcommittee are actually punishing the whole United States, in order to get at one of the finest Texans this state ever sent to Congress."

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Vol. XVII, No. 22 — Section III

HUMAN EVENTS

June 2, 1960

Let's Swear Off Summitry

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By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

THE SUMMIT That Never Was seems in retrospect very clearly the Summit That Never Should Have Been. May 16, 1960, should be remembered as a sorry day for the dignity and prestige of the United States. The bloody clown who heads the totalitarian Soviet state should never have been given the opportunity to heap guttersnipe insults on the President of the United States and to turn what was supposed to be a serious international conference into an obscene Communist propaganda circus.

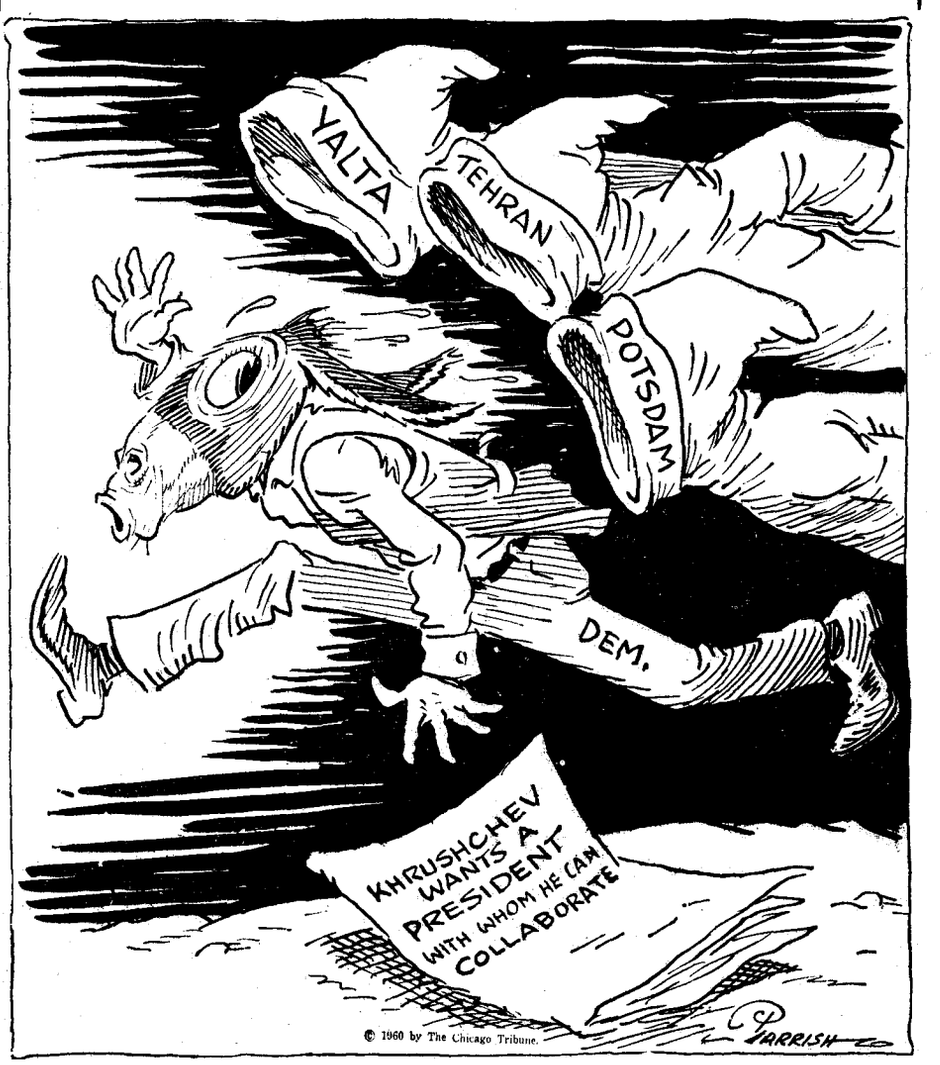
All the arguments that were trotted out for the acceptance of a top-level East-West meeting, so vigorously urged by Khrushchev, were refuted and made to look downright ridiculous—by K himself. A summit meeting, it was alleged, would make it possible for the men in the highest positions to confer on big international issues. But K refused to discuss any international issue, or to let the summit get off the ground. A meeting of heads of state of the most powerful countries, it was suggested, would foster better personal understanding and contribute to relaxation of tensions. It seems doubtful whether K's soapbox performances, in which he called President Eisenhower "treacherous," an "aggressor" and many other abusive names, helped along the cause of good personal relations. And perhaps that much overworked phrase, relaxation of tensions, is best understood if one notices that its three initials spell ROT.

In view of the monumental fiasco at Paris, almost as incredible as a violent pathological scene in a Dostoevsky novel, one would imagine that the inveterate appeaser, in the syndicated columns of American newspapers or in British public life and British publications, would be willing to confess that summitry, as a method of conducting international relations, should be relegated to the mothballs. But advocacy of summitry is a persistent disease. Let Khrushchev change his record and the same voices that pleaded for the policy that led to the debacle in Paris will be urging another trial for the top-level conference.

In intervals of temper tantrums Khrushchev himself has been chirping about a new summit, to be held in six or eight months, when he hopes to have a President of the United States more to his liking. What sort of *Gauleiter*, ready to bow to his will, would K like to see in the White House? Let him speak for himself:

"That is for the American people to decide. But there was one American with whom I could do business. There was one American with whom I could honestly have negotiated. That was Roosevelt. But when he died, his policy died with him."

NIKITA STIRRED UP SOME GHOSTS



Khrushchev would like to see a return to Roosevelt's wartime policy of appeasement. Are there Americans who, consciously or unconsciously, would fall in with this design? Well, there is Adlai Stevenson, not likely to be President (about 300 voters out of over 100,000 thought it worthwhile to write in his name in the Oregon Democratic primary), but a real potential menace as a possible appeasing Democratic Secretary of State. In a speech at Chicago, Stevenson reproached the Republicans for "having helped to make successful negotiations with the Russians—negotiations that are vital to our survival—impossible as long as they are in power." It gives your opponent a big advantage when you acknowledge in advance that you *must* have successful negotiations with him. Stevenson also waxed indignant, offering the hypothetical question: "How would we like it if Soviet spy planes based in Cuba were flying over Cape Canaveral and Oak Ridge?"

Some of the sting is taken out of this question if one recalls that, since 1955, we have been officially committed to the "open skies" policy which would have permitted mutual international aerial inspection of America and of the Soviet Union. This proposal foundered on Soviet opposition.

In the two columns which Walter Lippmann published during the week of the Paris fiasco there was just one

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critical reference to the Soviet part in breaking up the conference. But the rest of his articles were devoted to efforts to prove that we wrecked the conference ourselves.

Certainly there is reason for criticizing, not the high altitude flights, which may well have been vital to United States security, but the manner in which the downing of the U-2 was handled. The President's insistence on a sadly misplaced George Washington candor about an intelligence operation created serious headaches for himself and for Secretary Herter.

But it is highly improbable that the downing of the plane was the cause of the torpedoing of the conference. Khrushchev had long known about these flights; he asserted in his Paris press conference that he intended to take up the subject with President Eisenhower at Camp David; but then had an intuition that there was something "fishy" about the President's friendship.

THERE HAS BEEN much speculation, much of it very sensational and very dubious, about Khrushchev's losing political control, being buffeted about by pressures from the Red Army, from Red China, from mysterious "Stalinites" in Russia. But there is a much simpler and more plausible explanation of his behavior. The key to the wrecking of the summit may well be in a brutally provocative and threatening speech which the Red boss delivered in Baku some time before the reconnaissance plane was brought down. In this speech he threatened that, if a settlement, on his terms, of the West Berlin issue were not reached, he would conclude a separate peace treaty with his own puppet creation, the "German Democratic Republic." (This very title consists of three lies; a regime, most of whose leaders are trained in Moscow and some of whom are Soviet citizens, is not German; a regime that permits no semblance of freedom of press, speech, assembly or election is neither democratic nor a republic.) This, according to Khrushchev, would end the right of access to West Berlin for the allied powers. So, by this very statement, issued before the plane incident occured, the conference in Paris was faced with two alternatives, deadlock or appeasement.

The basic lesson to be drawn from the Paris break-up is that summit diplomacy is a thoroughly bad idea, in theory and in practice. About such sensationally publicized meetings there is always an aroma of appeasement or, at best, of futility. Let's look at the record.

The first summit conference of modern times was at Munich, when Hitler on September 30, 1938, exploited the fear of war in Great Britain and France to impose his own idea of how Czechoslovakia should be carved up. The defenders of Munich argued that the break-up of a heterogeneous new state like Czechoslovakia was a price worth paying for peace. So it might have been, *if Hitler's ambitions had stopped there.* But here one comes to the fundamental fallacy of appeasement: that a ruthless aggressor will be satisfied and cease and desist from his evil ways if he gets his demand of the moment. But this never happens. Less than a year later Britain and France were at war with Nazi Germany.

The next big summit conference (skipping Teheran, which was largely military, although it marked the first step toward the betrayal of Poland) was at Yalta in February, 1945. It might have been imagined that the Western leaders of a war which was being fought largely on the assumption that appeasement does not pay would have shunned appeasement of Stalin at the expense of Poland, a loyal wartime ally.

But Yalta was a repetition of Munich, with Poland the victim instead of Czechoslovakia, with Stalin playing the role of Hitler and Roosevelt and Churchill filling in for Chamberlain and Daladier. Again the result was disillusioning. Stalin did not become more friendly to the West; he became more bellicose and aggressive. It took the Berlin air lift, the war in Korea and the build-up of American military power to convince Stalin, whom even George Kennan in a recent lecture rightly described as "a man of almost inconceivable criminality," that further aggression would not pay off.

PERHAPS INTOXICATED by Soviet success in developing space satellites, Khrushchev followed in Stalin's footsteps when, on November 27, 1958, he demanded that the Western powers withdraw their token garrisons from West Berlin. In retrospect it seems clear that this insolent challenge to the existing situation should have been met head-on, with a flat, uncompromising "No." But British Prime Minister Macmillan tried to create a climate of discussion on an issue that was really not suited for discussion. His trip to Moscow was followed by the futile Foreign Ministers conference at Geneva.

Then the diplomatic ball was kept rolling by the invitation to Khrushchev to visit the United States, followed by Eisenhower's agreement to take part in a summit meeting. Macmillan was the principal advocate of yielding to Khrushchev's insistence on such a conference; stouthearted Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and General De Gaulle were skeptical from the beginning.

The experiment was tried, with no advance agreement, with no serious prospect of success and Khrushchev blew it up with all the glee of a juvenile delinquent setting off a giant firecracker under the chairs of some respectable solid citizens gathered for a serious talk. The point that should now be clear is that a totalitarian dictator is psychologically incapable of carrying on negotiations as an equal among equals. He must rule or ruin; he must dictate or he won't play ball.

There was an ugly suggestion of appeasement (which may be defined as one-sided yielding in the face of force or threat of force) about the whole build-up of the Paris summit that was never reached. Had Khrushchev not made his threats about West Berlin, there would never have been a Foreign Ministers' conference, or the invitation to the butcher of the Ukraine, and of Budapest, to make his propaganda tour of the United States or the meeting in Paris which he utilized for unprecedented tirades of abuse against America and its President.

There may be a case for a meeting of heads of state to affix the formal signatures to agreements which have been worked out at lower levels. Even this is dangerous with a treacherous totalitarian dictator. There is no case at all for a summit meeting when there is an irreconcilable difference of position in advance.

The collapse at Paris may be of some benefit if it leads to clear recognition that the cold war is the normal state of relations between free countries and Communist dictatorships and that Khrushchev in the role of the dove of peace is strictly phony. And if it leads to a firm resolution to swear off summitry—for good.

HUMAN EVENTS was founded in 1944 by Frank C. Hanighen. It is published at 408 First Street, S. E., Washington 3, D.C., and reports from Washington on politics, business, labor and taxes. $11 yer year.

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Vol. XVII, No. 22 — Section IV HUMAN EVENTS June 2, 1960

Kennedy for President?

A Catholic Priest Says 'No'

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By REV. DR. J. B. CAROL

FOR THE NEXT FEW MONTHS the predominant concern of every thoughtful American will center, no doubt, on the forthcoming Presidential election. This year the election-consciousness of our people is bound to reach unprecedented depth, coupled with unusual apprehension. Under the circumstances, this is as it should be, for the approaching contest may well be of crucial significance not only to Americans, but to the world at large. It is even felt in certain quarters that on the decision made by the American voter on November 8 may well depend the survival of the United States as a free nation, and that of Western civilization as a whole. Hence, the tremendous responsibility weighing upon our conscience.

How are we going to meet the responsibility? Obviously, I cannot presume to tell you whom to vote for. That is a decision to be made by each individual after consulting his own conscience. But perhaps I may be permitted to indulge in a frank discussion with you as to the type of candidate we should *not* vote for. This I will endeavor to do, not prompted by partisan motives, but solely as a fellow-citizen who shares your concern for the welfare of our beloved country.

Stated briefly and bluntly, my earnest contention is this: To cast our ballot for a candidate who is imbued with the philosophy of "liberalism" would constitute a serious disservice to this Nation and to those depending on it for leadership. This bold assertion should become self-evident to anyone who reflects on the hopeless inability of our "liberals" to meet our foreign and domestic problems intelligently and realistically. To proceed in an orderly fashion, however, let us, first of all, analyze this nebulous ideology known as "liberalism."

Like modernism in the realm of theology, "liberalism" is actually a congeries of pernicious fallacies, a strange combination of muddled thinking and ill-defined, misty attitudes on such heterogeneous subjects as economics, sociology, politics, philosophy and even religion. Hence the impossibility of defining it in one short sentence. As a practical substitute, however, the following description may prove helpful and enlightening.

A "liberal" is one who favors Bigger Government at the expense of individual freedom. Thus he views with satisfaction the Federal Government's increasing intrusion in our private affairs. He enthusiastically endorses all "welfare" legislation, though it threatens to stifle individual incentive and paves the way to statism and socialism. He promotes the idea of World Government at the expense of national sovereignty. He is a fervent apologist of the United Nations, fails to grasp its dangers and minimizes its colossal failures. He regards the Constitution as an obsolete document which should be brought up to date—by the "liberals," of course. He favors curtailing big business, but sees nothing wrong in union monopoly and despotism. He upholds compulsory unionism regardless of the moral problem involved, and frowns on right-to-work laws. He feverishly defends academic freedom for fellow-"liberals," but inwardly rejoices when conservatives are denied an opportunity to present their views.

He adopts an unrealistic approach to the gravest issue confronting us today, namely, the Communist menace. Thus he champions tolerance of subversives. He congratulates the Supreme Court when it rules in favor of Communists. He decries congressional committees and the F.B.I. when they try to expose the enemies of our country. He demands more hand-outs to so-called "neutralist" countries and even to Communist governments. He heartily approves of more "cultural" exchanges with the Reds. He trumpets the current propaganda against resumption of nuclear tests. He urges more summit meetings, more negotiations with the masters of deceit. He faithfully parrots the Kremlin's slogan about the desirability of peaceful co-existence—all this is on the cockeyed assumption that the result will be blissful harmony and enduring peace within the community of nations.

HAVING DWELLED at some length on the general premise of the thesis, let us now consider its application to a concrete case by focusing our attention on one of the leading Presidential contenders. His name: John F. Kennedy, United States Senator from Massachusetts. I single him out for discussion here mainly for these reasons: (1) He embodies the "liberal" ideology to a remarkable degree, (2) I believe he stands a fair chance of being elected, and (3) owing to his religion, he is bound to enlist a high percentage of Catholic support throughout the land. Here, then, are some of the relevant facts which you might bear in mind—regardless of your party affiliation—before you decide to cast your ballot in favor of this man.

In general: Kennedy's voting record in the Senate during the past two years and a half reveals that on 97 roll calls on key issues he voted 93 times in perfect agreement with Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, admittedly the most obnoxious "liberal" egghead in Congress (See "Kennedy's Record Is Like Humphrey's," by Willard Edwards, in HUMAN EVENTS for March 10, 1960).

Specifically: Kennedy has voted consistently to condone the dictatorship of union bosses. He has voted to support increased Government interference in housing, education and other fields, thus further-

Published weekly at 408 First Street, S. E., Washington 3, D. C. • Copyright 1960 by HUMAN EVENTS

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ing the cause of state socialism. He has voted for inflationary measures, regardless of the staggering Budget deficit. He has voted against curbing the Supreme Court in its endeavor to nullify existing legislation protecting us from Communist treason. He has voted to pour more millions of your dollars on Communist governments like Yugoslavia and Poland. He has voted to abolish the loyalty oath in the educational aid program. He has voted to resume the sale of farm surpluses to the Communist bloc. He joined the smear campaign which led to the rejection of anti-Communist Lewis L. Strauss as Secretary of Commerce. He voted in favor of "liberal" appeaser Charles E. Bohlen as Ambassador to Russia. He favors the repeal of the Connally Amendment, without which our constitutional sovereignty would be left at the mercy of unscrupulous International World Court judges.

The above is all a matter of public record. It is further corroborated by the testimony of the ADA (Americans for Democratic Action), an organization of notorious left-wingers who make it their business to influence the voting of our Congressmen. It may interest you to know that for the past two years the annual ADA report has given Senator Kennedy a 100 per cent rating, a dubious honor reserved for those who have voted according to ADA promptings on every single issue that counts.

I submit that this fact, in and by itself, constitutes the most damaging evidence against this darling of the "liberal" Establishment. Do you wonder now why the Senator during his campaigns cautiously avoids bringing up the matter of his voting record? This clever strategy has served him well in the past; it may again prove valuable in the future.

ANOTHER FEATURE of the Senator's political physiognomy little adverted to, is his tendency to play the opportunist when faced with potentially harmful decisions. The incident of the McCarthy censure in 1954 is particularly revealing in this context. As is well known, on the final roll call to decide this highly controversial issue, every Senator present or absent took a definite stand, either by voting or pairs. The only exceptions were Senator Alexander Wiley and Senator Kennedy. For five long years Kennedy could not be prevailed upon to commit himself. Then, under pressure from Eleanor Roosevelt particularly, he disclosed that he would have voted against Joe McCarthy. The point here is *not* that he was against McCarthy (all "liberals" had to be), but rather that he waited until *after* the 1958 elections to make his position known. He was well aware that, had he committed himself before the election, he would have lost the substantial support of thousands of Massachusetts voters who regarded the junior Senator from Wisconsin as a martyr.

Another interesting phase of Senator Kennedy's political career is his close relationship with Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers. It is scarcely a secret that Reuther is a ruthless labor dictator and one of the most mischievous Socialist leaders in the country. But he is also the unchallenged king-maker in the Democratic party. Hence, it is understandable that Kennedy, for obvious reasons, should always be eager to use his senatorial influence to protect the interests of this radical left-winger. Only a few weeks ago the Republican members of the Senate Rackets Committee filed a report showing tangible evidence of "corruption, misappropriation of funds, bribery, extortion and collusion with the underworld" in the United Auto Workers. Of course, nothing was done about it. Who was primarily responsible for the committee's failure to act upon the evidence? Jack Kennedy's mouthpiece, his own brother Bob, chief counsel of the committee.

As to the Landrum-Griffin bill, which was calculated to correct some of the most glaring abuses of labor bosses, it is now established that it was considerably weakened before being enacted into law as a result of the frantic efforts of none other than Senator Kennedy. All of this is bound to pay dividends. For you may be sure that the beneficiaries of such tender solicitude will see to it that, at the critical moment, a mighty army of over a million shop stewards and union officers will be swiftly mobilized to bring victory to their knight-errant from Massachusetts.

WHAT WOULD BE some of the salient features of an Administration headed by Kennedy? This is what you can expect: more Government interference and control; more spending on welfare measures; the eventual admission of Red China to the United Nations; the gradual surrender of our constitutional sovereignty to a World Court made up mostly of our enemies; the probable appointment of visionary Adlai Stevenson as Secretary of State, with its consequent crawling appeasement of the Reds; and, of course, the packing of the Supreme Court with "liberal" ideologues who will make shambles of our security laws. But why go on? The foregoing should be enough to chill the enthusiasm of the most fanatic Kennedy backer.

Now I ask you: is this the kind of leader our country needs in the decisive encounters now being schemed by the Russian Bear? No matter how formidable our military resources; no matter how intrepid our men in the armed forces; no matter how irrepressible our will to survive, if the men at the top are found wanting in vision, realism, courage and stamina, our crushing defeat as a free nation seems to me inevitable, under the circumstances. Remember: an army of bears led by a sheep hasn't got a chance with an army of sheep lead by a bear.

Father Carol is editor of the Catholic scientific publication *Marian Studies*.

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